1: Hanke O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 5344 Guarani 5144

Contribution on the Culture of the Cayua
[Beitrag zur Kultur der Caiuás]

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I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupí-Guaraní family and speak Guaraní, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Caingué. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guaraní

[13] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guaraní Culture/. São Paulo. 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Nandéva, the Mbüá (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiowá (3) /see footnote 3 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiowás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apytereś, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[13] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there:

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the Catuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Catuás is probably a corruption of the name Caiguá, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Catuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

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361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Serrito and Caarito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tabycuá.
[241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of
[164] the Protective Service, the Catuás live in villages entirely by themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianersiedlungen im Südosten des Mato Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

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/219/ II. Material Culture.

178 The Cainás who have remained within their tribal organization have preserved more of their material culture than have those living dispersed.

128 I shall give here a brief survey of this culture in comparison with the material culture of the Caingué tribes in Paraguay (6)x

[113] 6. Cf. "Dos años entre los indios Caingué /Two Years Among the Caingua Indians/." In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

411 The bows and arrows of the Cainás are somewhat shorter and finer. There are several differences in their baskets. The 285 carrying baskets (basú) characteristic of the Paraguay Indians, which are artistically decorated with interwoven designs, are missing. They are replaced by simple, completely unadorned carrying baskets that lack the rear wall, which is marked only by crossed belts made from the bark of a liana rope. In general, 534 the basketry is simple and crude. -- The signal pipes are interesting: they are carved of wood, sometimes round, sometimes oval or conical: I once saw a double pipe that resembled two egg cups placed side by side.

293 Of great importance even today are the objects used in
292 connection with ceremonies. One of them is the poncho of the
297 priest of magic, trimmed with small tufts of feathers and the down of the toucan (pepper bird), ending at the bottom in fringe.
[301] The poncho is woven of cotton. Over it, crossed on the chest, cotton belts with feather ornaments or numerous chains of seeds are usually worn. The head is adorned with a feather diadem consisting chiefly of toucan feathers, from the back of which hang long strings full of tufts of feathers. Sometimes jaguar claws are fastened with them. Around the wrists the priest wears
[304] feather bracelets, and in the pierced lower lip the lip-plug of
[301] resin, called tembecú. -- While the Tembecuá attach no special
[124] value to whether or not the lip-plug is made of resin, the Cainás regard this as essential.

301 /219 cont./
314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is
regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different
[198] trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás
they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former
is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following
way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled
spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small,
hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a
large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until
it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and
the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of
the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and
smoothed with amambai leaves (?). -- The triangle, however,

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may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun-
[194] down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the
following forenoon: drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden.
Prayers are said during the cutting and the scratching of the
bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá: it is their
186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the
whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself
237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore
793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan
was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans
have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests
and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed
for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only
the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people
no longer know how to make them around the bow string. --
/220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels in-
stead of feather tufts have appeared.

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998 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
199 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
198 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
197 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caingáng can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
198 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax. Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization. They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of wood carvings. -- In Parinha Seca and the surrounding villages Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he engraved the year number 1958 on the side of the monkey a). The representations of the two figures actually resemble a monkey very little: the tail is missing, and the limbs are much too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclusively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him. A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III. Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and Alexandro are completely illiterate.

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532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tobycué. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curumé-Nhoengatú, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 197 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás

[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its becoming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingué in

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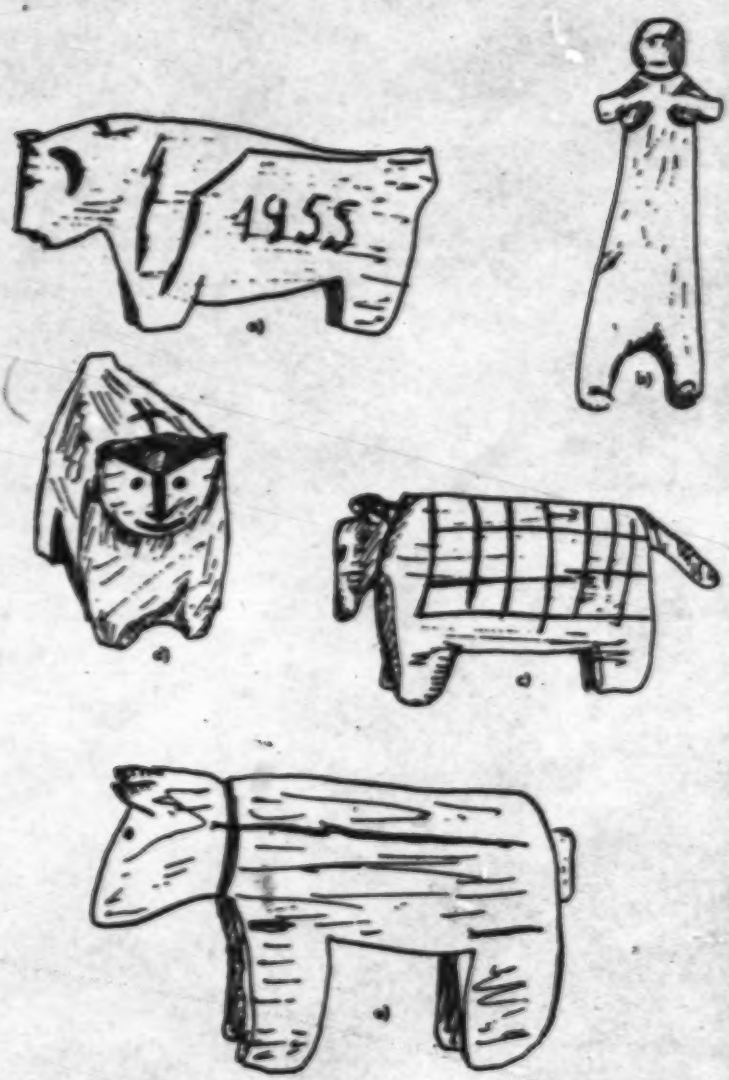

Plate I

a) Monkey from the side: b) human figure (woman);
c) armadillo: d) monkey from the front: e) wild pig.

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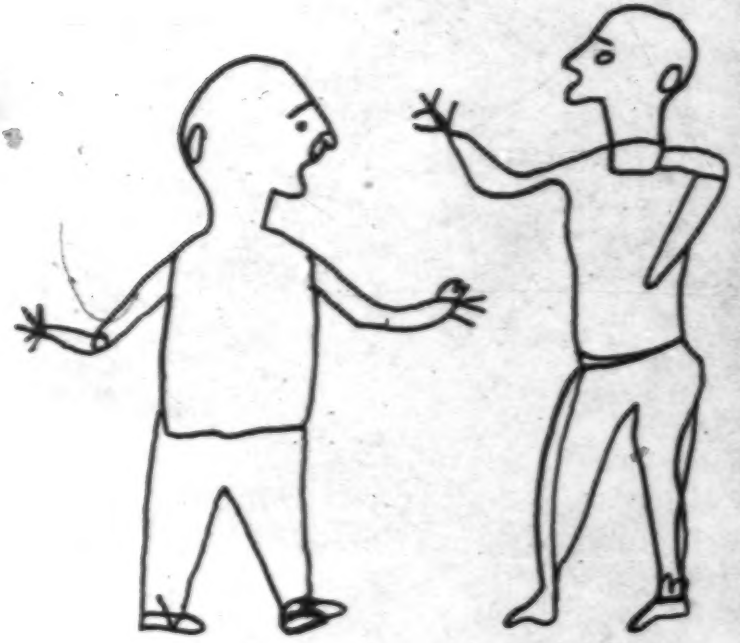

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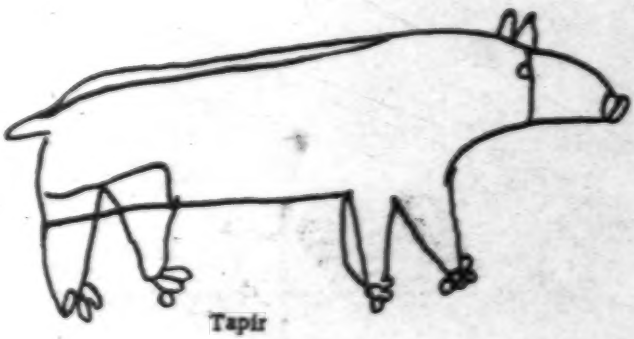

Tapir

Plate II

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Man

Ostrich

Ara

Girl

Pig

Duck

Plate III

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532 276 [177] Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European ones.

534 178 [192] The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Caingua groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. -- [192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, [535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious [533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 177 178 [439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

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Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudio; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Curussú-Nheengatú.

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/225/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

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One often hears the conjecture that the Caiuás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Caiuás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

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In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

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353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[792] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
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Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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539 [776] His wife is Nhande-Sý (Our Mother). -- In ancient times this divine couple inhabited the earth. One day, however, the god ascended to heaven, while Nhande-Sý remained behind on earth (9). -- There the earth god, Curussú Nheengatú (the

9. Cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen /Myths/," etc., pp. 317 f.

speaking cross), met her and was inflamed with love for her. He succeeded in winning the heart of the goddess. Soon afterwards, however, he left her. Now she went in search of Nhande-Rú-Vussú, but she /226/ did not know the way. She therefore asked the children in her womb. At first she received accurate information from them. As they became tired, however, they became inattentive, and finally they were mistaken and indicated the wrong way, which led to the house of the jaguar. At that time the jaguars were still human beings, hence "beginning of the jaguar" (10). The jaguar devoured the goddess and pulled

10. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., pp. 121 ff. and p. 122, who reports specifically on the origin of the animals. A comparison with the mythology of the Dêtoana, in which the animals originated as a result of the transformation of human beings, is interesting. Cf. my study, "Creencias /Beliefs/," etc. -- The Puruborá likewise speak of the "beginning of the jaguar"; this jaguar, still human, is called Karurá.

the children out of her womb in order to take them to his grandmother, who had scarcely any teeth and thus needed tender meat for her diet. The old one, however, took a fancy to the two boys and did not want to kill them. So they remained with her and were reared by her like grandsons. The two children were Cuarahy, the sun, and Yasý, the moon. -- When they were only

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539 a few days old, they were already able to walk and knew how to make bows and arrows. Then they went hunting. They always brought home a great deal of tender meat for the old one.

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Fig. 5. The Indian village of Boróro, which stands between old and modern times. In the background, left, the old priest of magic with his adornment; the third man to the right of him is the subchief Ireneo, who is piously evangelical. Only in the case of the wife of the priest does one still see old adornment; otherwise all are in modern dress.

539 One time Cuarahy wanted to kill the wood hen, called jacú. But he shot three times and missed. And now the wood hen started to speak, for it is Guyrá Nheengatú, the speaking bird. It told the boy the story of his mother and advised him to kill the jaguars.

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539 Quickly the boys returned home with much fruit, the guavirá, and reported where they had found it. The whole family of the jaguar now set out with large carrying baskets in order to gather fruit. They all had to cross a river. The boys had built a bridge with their arrows. The wife of the jaguar, who was pregnant, went at the head of the procession. The jaguars followed her, and the grandparents of the /227/ jaguars came last. When they were all on the bridge, it collapsed; the jaguars fell into the river and were drowned (11). Only the wife

11. In connection with all this, cf. Nimuendajú, "Sagen," etc., pp. 319 ff.

was able to save herself by a long leap onto land. At this moment, however, she became an animal-jaguar and later gave birth to two sons, who came into the world as animals. -- Never again were there jaguars who were human beings.

The grandparents likewise saved themselves by quickly retreating from the bridge they had just stepped onto. -- Cuarahy spoke to the jaguar-grandmother without making himself visible. She was so startled that she turned into a large wolf. -- The boys now took the jaguar-grandfather, the last jaguar-human, and turned him into a paca (a rodent). As such they killed him amid solemn ceremonies and put him into the /Fig. 6 appears here/ cooking pot. Since then paca may not be roasted, only boiled. They prayed over the cooking pot and blessed the meat so that it would become a food agreeable to human beings.

After these events the brothers set out to look for the spirit of the mother murdered by the jaguars. The spirit lived in the house of the falcon. -- The boys came to many rivers and reached the seacoast. A crocodile appeared there, and it served the boys as a riding animal; they mounted it, in order that it might carry them across the sea. The crocodile obeyed, to be sure, but before it reached the other seacoast it turned back. This performance was repeated, despite the violent remonstrances of the children. The latter finally jumped into the sea near

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Fig. 6. The two highest priests of magic among the Caiuás Indians. Both wear the poncho with fringes and tufts of feathers, which are clearly to be seen on the right poncho; on the left the huge chains of seeds cover them. Long strings with tufts of feathers hang down from the left diadem. The bracelets and lip-plugs are also seen.

539 the opposite coast and swam to land, where João Grande, the stork, received them in a friendly manner.

He was fishing at the moment and hid the brothers in his basket under the captured fish. When the crocodile came swimming up in order /228/ to inquire about the children, João Grande denied having seen them. Soon afterward he carried them to his house and served them the tastiest foods. The children did not wish to stay long and continued their journey. -- They came to the house of the owl and inquired about Nhande-Sý. The owl, known as deceitful, said she did not know anything, but the mother was not living in the house of the falcon. Scarcely had she spoken this lie when she turned into the animal-owl;

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539 before that she had been a human being, and, to be sure, "beginning of the owl" (12).

12. Cf. Schaden, "Fragmentos," etc., p. 111.

The boys entered many houses in order to look for their mother, and all the people who lived there turned into animals, so that the earth became populated with animals of all kinds.

Finally they came to the house of the falcon and addressed him. Then, however, the mother's spirit, which lived there, joyfully answered. All three now decided to ascend to heaven.

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Fig. 7. Priest of magic with his wife. He has the poncho, chest bands with tufts of feathers, and a diadem similarly decorated; bracelet and lip-plug complete his official costume. The wife has a chest band with feathers and chains of seeds.

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539 On the way Yasý lagged behind, for he had found a girl whom he married. -- The mother sent Cuarahý to fetch his brother. Cuarahý observed that this was a bad girl, freed his brother from these bonds, and led him away to the gates of heaven, where Nhande-Sý was already waiting for her sons.

The three desired admission into heaven, but Nhande-Rú-Vussú refused because the boys were not his. He became violently angry and scolded mother and children. They, however, did not cease begging. God finally took pity on his wife and let her into heaven, but not the boys. --

Cuarahý and Yasý returned to earth. In doing so, they met their father, Curussú-Nheengatú. He created a new heaven for his sons, where they can live throughout eternity. --

/229/ Cuarahý was henceforth called Nhanderykeý. Curussú-Nheengatú made a cross and placed rings around it. Every day he added a new ring until the earth was finished. -- He was assisted in this work by his wife, Ivotý (flower), who bore this name because she suckled her children with nectar instead of milk; for her breasts were flowers, not like the breasts of other women. She is also called Maritĩ.

778 822 The human body with outstretched arms is the image of the cross. --

776 The Caiuás picture Nhande-Rú-Vussú, Curussú-Nheengatú, and Nhanderykeý as adorned with feather diadem and feather belt, the gourd rattle in their hands and the lip-plug in their [778] lower lips. Curussú-Nheengatú, in addition, has a cross on his chest. -- Therefore these objects are sacred and are called "things of our lord." -- - /Pig. 8 appears here./

776 539 829 191 Nhande-Rú-Vussú has a daughter who is called Tupa-Sý. She was abducted and married by Mbaé-Yara (lord of things). Many children issued from the marriage. Mbaé-Yara, also called Mbaé-Rú (father of things), is the creator of the nations. He created them in the following way: He beat one of his sons so violently that his tongue became dislocated and he began to speak Portuguese; he became the ancestor of the Brazilians.

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Fig. 8. Greeting ceremony upon the arrival of an honored guest: the men with the gourd rattles dance in front of the cross in the ground and recite the greeting formula; at the extreme right, a woman with the tacumbú.

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Thereupon Mbaé-Yara likewise beat his second son, and he began to speak Spanish and thus became the ancestor of the Argentinians and all peoples who speak Spanish. He treated all his sons in the same way, and thus the various languages and the various nations arose. Only with the youngest son were matters different: in spite of cruel beatings, his tongue did not become dislocated, and thus he became the ancestor of the Paraguayans whose language is Guarani. Mbaé-Yara is also divine, but all his adornment is of iron. --

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/230/ The spirit of evil is Anhá. Once he arranged a dance festival and invited Cuarahý and Yasý to it. The brothers appeared, though Cuarahý was very suspicious. He warned Yasý and forbade him to dance. But he did not obey. While he was dancing, he was suddenly seized by Anhá and thrown into the

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776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caingás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

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793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Bêtoona and Puruborá.

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V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 592 576 [184] 535 534 [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[534] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 178 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest 574 576 [192] is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykey his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairé in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, še rykeý, še reté moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curumí moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še yeguaka moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curumí warópyta moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curumí warákambý moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curumí wapétya moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, še curumí warópyta moĩtyro, še rykeý.
Hangatú, še rykeý, se curumí kaikuabí moĩtyro, še rykeý."

/xxx/

796 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that łá
539 ryhéí is used instead of Shaaderyhéí. Although Shaaderyhéí
782 is the name of the god formerly called Cuarshí, its meaning
783 must not be overlooked: shaade means "we," "our"; ryhéí is
533 the elder brother; hence, shaaderí-ryhéí means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song łá = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my hand be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Shaaderyhéí, to the elder brother of the Catáłí, and asks for purity of the body
[796] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarshí, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed
[778] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that
796 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs
539
533

/222 cont./

"Hoĕri yahá, hoĕri yahá, ãe resí.
Nhanderykeý mbarahí ãe resí,
Nhanderykeý ha dãyrukeý ãe resí,
Nhanderykeý yeguaka ãe resí,
Nhanderykeý tmakuahá ãe resí,
Nhanderykeý tamberá ãe resí."

Translation

"Let us go, let us go, he has seen me.
Our elder brother, with the rattle he saw me,
Our elder brother saw me dance,
Our elder brother, with the diadem he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the abdominal belt he saw me,
Our elder brother, with the lip-plug he saw me."

This says that Nhanderykeý has seen the Caiuás paying him respect with rattle, diadem, abdominal belt, and lip-plug, as custom demands, dancing in honor of the god. Here too, of course, the sun god is meant, the one who sees everything and in whose honor human beings adorn themselves and dance. --

The festival of Yacairá, whose original significance as the god of night, darkness, and death the Caiuás have probably forgotten in part, goes somewhat differently. They attribute to him the weather and fertility. A certain variety of maize, called saporó, is dedicated to him. He is venerated /223/ nowadays in connection with a gathering called by the chief. During it he combines other aims with the religious celebration. The inhabitants of all the villages appear in front of the house of the foremost chief. The priests are clad with the badges of their office, the other men carry crosses and gourd rattles, the women their tacumbú. Two stands are erected in front of the house. Against one is propped a large, adorned cross, and a few rattles are laid beside it. On the other stand rests a magnificent calabash displayed with the finest cotton fabric and hung with fringe. Inside it is a second, smaller calabash encircled with bands and feather

/925 cont./
dials. In this there are saporó maize kernels. Over the large bowl lies a cover made out of feather dials. The men form a

Fig. 11. The row of women with the tacumbú dances and pounds with their instrument. This is done in connection with both religious ceremonies and greeting ceremonies.

semicircle around the stands and sing to the music of the rattles. Then the chief steps forward with his request and in connection with it also speaks of old and new customs.

Thereupon the priest starts officiating. His followers place a white cloth on the ground, upon which he pours the contents of the calabash. He now speaks of Yacairá, who makes the saporó maize grow.

At the last meeting of this kind, which I attended, he spoke of a great drought which would set in as punishment from Yacairá because the Caiuás were deserting the ancient practices and turning toward new customs and new religions. He was also punishing human beings for clearing the forests. The saporó maize would grow for another ten years, but no longer. -- The second priest and a few old men spoke in the same vein.

/232 cont./
[772] urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited
[743] the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:
[538] /234/
[539]

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretey Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieré-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke
[622] again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adapta-
[177] tion and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[743] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies
[178] described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykuý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in de-
179 tail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their
[114] Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

1: Hanke--27 C-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 Sh44 Guarani Sh84

/234 cont./

178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[799] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./